

Sāriputta and his works

Sāriputta was one of the most prominent monks of the Polonnaruva Period:¹ he composed several texts in Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhala. He was a disciple of Diṃbulāgala Mahākassapa, the first known *saṅgharāja* of Ceylon,² and one of the most important members of Parakkamabāhu's great council of *theras*, the date of which is

Abbreviations and the system for citing Pāli sources follow the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Epilegomena to vol. 1, 1948, pp. 5*-36*, and vol. 3, 1992, pp. II-VI) and H. Bechert, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). The only exception being PTS editions, which are cited without edition or date, e.g. Sv-pt = Sv-pt (Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā) Ee 1970 I-III, edited by Lily de Silva.

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¹PLC, pp. 190-192; O.H. de A. Wijesekera, "Pali and Sanskrit in the Polonnaruva Period" in *The Polonnaruva Period* (Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1973), pp. 104, 107; S. Saparamadu, "The Sinhalese Language and Literature of the Polonnaruva Period", *ibid*, p. 120; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), pp. 77-83.

²Mhv LXXVIII 6, 16, 57; Saddhamma-s 59, 7; Sās Ne 1961 25, 4; PLC, pp. 176-77; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), pp. 75-77; H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), vol. 1, p. 265; S. Jayawardhana, *Handbook of Pali Literature* (Colombo: Karunaratne & Sons Ltd, 1994), pp. 79-80. Cf. Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I, 11-16 = Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 1, 7-12: *Kassapaṃ taṃ mahātheraṃ saṅghassa parināyakaṃ ... yaṃ nissāya vasanto 'haṃ vuddhipatto 'smi sāsane*. In Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I 1, 17-20 = Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 1, 13-16, another teacher of Sāriputta called Sumedha is also mentioned. Mahākassapa and Sumedha were, according to S. Jayawardhana, "the principal and the vice-principal of the Ālāhana Pariveṇa in Jetavana Vihāra" (Op. cit., p. 144, refers to [A.P. Buddhadatta] *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 249-252, 260-262).

“tentatively fixed at 1165 A.D.”³ Diṃbulāgala Mahākassapa, who was in charge of the reformation of the Buddhist order under the patronage of king Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86),⁴ was appointed by the king himself to organise and preside over the great council of *theras* to reform the Buddhist order and establish the Vinaya rules. After the council held under the presidency of Mahākassapa *thera* many *ṭīkā*s were written,⁵ and one of the most important authors was Sāriputta, “perhaps brightest among the constellations that adorned Ceylon’s literary firmament during Parākrama-Bāhu’s reign.”⁶ On account of his erudition he was called Sāgaramati,⁷ “like the ocean in wisdom”, and was “like all the other learned men of his period, a clever Sanskrit scholar as well.”⁸ Perhaps he was the immediate successor of Mahākassapa as *saṅgharāja* of Ceylon⁹ and was very influential with a large circle of disciples such as Vācissara, Sumaṅgala and Dhammakitti, who were famous Pāli authors and

³V. Panditha, “Buddhism During the Polonnaruva Period” in *The Polonnaruva Period* (Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1973), p. 137; see also W. Geiger, “Introduction” in Mhv Trsl., pp. xxviii-xxix; Geiger, § 31, n. 4.

⁴Saddhamma-s 58, 13-14; Sās Ne 1961 25, 4-5; Mhv LXXVIII 6. On the reform of the Buddhist order during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I see also Saddhamma-s 58-59; Mhv LXXIII 11-22; LXXVIII 1-30; Sās Ne 1961 25, 1-12; PLC, pp. 176-77; W. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960), p. 209, § 202; W. Geiger, Mhv Trsl. (*Cūlavamsa*), vol. 2, p. 102, n. 2; V. Panditha, “Buddhism During the Polonnaruva Period” in *The Polonnaruva Period* (Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1973), pp. 136-138; H. Bechert, “The Nikāyas of Medieval Sri Lankā and the Unification of the Saṅgha by Parākramabāhu I” in *Studies on Buddhism in Honour of A.K. Warder*, Toronto 1993, pp. 11-21.

⁵Saddhamma-s 58, 27 - 60, 24; PLC, pp. 192-194.

⁶PLC, p. 190.

⁷Saddhamma-s 63, 15.

⁸PLC, p. 190.

⁹H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), vol. 1, p. 265.

religious leaders.¹⁰ Sāriputta resided in the Jetavana Vihāra¹¹ at Polonnaruva in a “vast and glorious *pāsāda* with rooms, terraces and chambers”¹² which the king had specially built for him.

The writing of the *ṭīkā*s on the canonical texts most probably started very soon after the convocation, because according to Saddhamma-s, it was completed in one year.¹³ “The *ṭīkā*s were sub-commentaries, that is to say, works containing expositions of points in the *Atthakathā* or commentaries which needed further elucidation for correct interpretation; or sometimes they merely gave additional information regarding the discussions in the commentaries, e.g. more illustrative stories.”¹⁴ In the chapter where the writing of the *ṭīkā*s is described Saddhamma-s¹⁵ does not name the authors of the *ṭīkā*s: “Sāriputta’s name is not mentioned, and no special works are assigned to

¹⁰For a detailed discussion on Sāriputta’s disciples and their works see PLC, pp. 198- 219 (Sāriputta’s Circle); Geiger, §§ 32-34.

¹¹Mp-ṭ Be 1961 III 370, 24 = Sp-ṭ Be 1960 III 496, 11 = Pālim Be 1960 468, 12: *sītalūdakasampanne vasaṃ Jetavane imaṃ*. See also Abhidh-s-mhṭ 212, 1-4; *Abhidharmāthasāṅgrahaya Sanna*, ed. by Paññāmolī Tissa, 3rd ed. (Ambalamgoḍa: W.E. de Silva, H.S. de Silva and R.C.P.W. Vaidyaratna, Vijaya Printing Press, 1926, B.E. 2469), p. 257, v. 1; Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 235.

¹²W. Geiger, Mhv Trsl. (*Cūlavamsa*), vol. 2, p. 105; Mhv LXXVIII 34: *thirasīlassa therassa Sāriputtavhayassa pi, hammiyatthalagabbhehi mahā-pāsādam ujjalam*.

¹³Saddhamma-s 60, 26-28: *ayaṃ piṭakatthakathāya atthavaṇṇanā ekasamvaccharen’eva niṭṭhitā*.

¹⁴PLC, p. 192. On the etymology of the word *ṭīkā* and on the evolution of *ṭīkā* literature see Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-pt, pp. xxviii-xli; on the methods of exegesis in the sub-commentaries see S. Na Bangchang, “Introduction” in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-atthakathāṭīkā* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), pp. cxxviii-cxlv. See also K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 148-51.

¹⁵Saddhamma-s 58, 27 - 60, 24.

him.”¹⁶ In the next chapter Saddhamma-s gives a list of many authors, among them Sāriputta is mentioned, under the name Sāgaramati, as the author of *Vinayasāṅgaha* (Pālim).¹⁷ According to G.P. Malalasekera “the *ṭikās* may be regarded as the work of a school, rather than of single individuals” and Sāriputta “may possibly have been appointed to supervise certain sections of the work - the *Vinaya*, *Aṅuttara* and *Majjhima* portions.”¹⁸ Whatever the truth may be, Sāriputta is mentioned in the bibliographical texts and in the colophons of the works of his disciples as the author of the following works:

1. *Sāratthadīpanī Vinayaṭīkā* (Sp-ṭ)
2. *Āṅguttaranikāyaṭīkā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā* (Mp-ṭ)
3. *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśāṅgaha* (Pālim)
4. *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśāṅgahaṭīkā* (Pālim-vn-ṭ)
5. *Pañcīkālāṅkāra*
6. *Abhidharmāthasāṅgrahaya Sanna* (Abhidh-s-sn)

¹⁶PLC, p. 193.

¹⁷Saddhamma-s 63, 15-16: *Sāgaramatināmena therena racitaṃ idaṃ, Vinayasamgaḥaṃ nāma vinayathappakāsanam.*

¹⁸PLC, p. 194; cf. also Geiger § 31. *Majjhimanikāyapūrāṇaṭīkā, Dutiya Linatthapakāsini* (Ps-pt) is ascribed to Dhammapāla; for further discussion on the authorship of Ps-pt see S. Na Bangchang, “Introduction” in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathāṭīkā* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), pp. xxiv-xxxix, see also H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154. In CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 40*, 2.2,12, *Majjhimanikāyaṭīkā, Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā* (Ps-ṭ) is ascribed to Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva, but no further evidence is given. According to Saddhamma-s 59, 23-35, the four *ṭikās* with a common name *Sāratthamañjūsā* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ) were written by the “elders” (*therā bhikkhū*) during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86). As far as I am aware no research has been done yet on the authorship of *Majjhimanikāyaṭīkā, Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā* (Ps-ṭ).

7. *Visuddhipathasāṅgaha*
8. *Kammaṭṭhānasāṅgaha*
9. *Maṅgalasuttaṭīkā*
10. *Sampasādani*
11. *Padāvatāra*.

1. *Sāratthadīpanī Vinayaṭīkā* (Sp-ṭ).¹⁹ This is the second *ṭikā* on Buddhaghosa’s *Samantapāsādikā* on *Vinayaṭīkā*, written at the request of king Parakkamabāhu I;²⁰ the first *ṭikā* was written by

¹⁹Gv 61, 30-31; 71, 10-14; Sās Ne 1961 31, 13; Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1201; *Piṭakat-samuin*³ (Piṭ-sm) 239; Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe, “Introduction” in *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1900), p. xv; PLC, p. 192; A.P. Buddhaddatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 249-252; A.P. Buddhaddatta, *Theravādī Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 78; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 172-173 (§§ 373-374).

Besides the Chaṭṭhasāṅgāyana edition (Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I-III) there are four earlier printed editions of Sp-ṭ (Be 1904 I-II, 1910-11 I-IV, 1913 I-IV, 1915-18 I-IV) listed in L.D. Barnett, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1906-28), vol. 2, column 946; CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 38*, 1.2,12 mentions Be 1902-24 I-IV and Ce 1914 ad Sp I 1, 1 - II 516, 17. In *Laṅkavē puskola pot nāmāvaliya* (LPP), vol. 1, p. 101, s.v. (*Samantapāsādikā Dutiya ṭīkā*), *Dutiya Vinayaṭīkā, Sāratthadīpanī, Mahā Sāratthadīpanī*, vol. 2, p. 76, s.v. *Samantapāsādikā Majjhimaṭīkā, Vinayamahāṭīkā, Mahā Sāratthadīpanī, Sāratthadīpanī* many Mss. of Sp-ṭ are listed; see also V. Fausböll, “Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library” (Formerly part of the King’s Library at Mandalay), *JPTS* (1894-96), pp. 12-13, Mss. 14-16; A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1908), fasc. 2, p. 9, Ms. 45; W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), p. 5, Mss. 14-15.

²⁰Sp-ṭ Be 1960 III 496, 6: *ajjhesito narindena, so ’haṃ Parakkamabāhunā*.

Vajirabuddhi, who “most likely lived in the late Anurādhapura period,”²¹ and is called *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* (Vjb). In the colophon of *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭikā* (Abhidh-s-mht) written by Sumaṅgala, one of Sāriputta’s disciples,²² the author praises his teacher and mentions *Sāratthadīpanī* (Sp-t) as his most important work:

having been supported by the compassion of Sāriputta *thera*, who possesses many virtues most excellent and firm, and whose commentaries on *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* and so on – the foremost among which is *Sāratthadīpanī* – show here the greatness of his knowledge and gladden good people with explanations of the essence of sweet meaning...²³

A Pagan inscription dated 1442 A.D. (B.E. 804) mentions two *Vinayaṭṭikās*: (1) *ṭīgā pārājikan*, identified by G.H. Luce and Tin Htway²⁴

²¹H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 54. According to Lily de Silva (“General Introduction” in Sv-pt, p. xxxviii) Vajirabuddhi lived in the 11th century, but see W.B. Bollée, “Die Stellung der Vinayaṭṭikās in der Pāli-Literatur”, *ZDMG*, Suppl. 1, 17 (1969): pp. 824-835.

²²PLC, p. 200; Geiger, § 32, 4; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Abhidh-s and Abidh-s-mht, pp. xviii-xix.

²³Abhidh-s-mht 212, 9-14: *ñāṇānubhāvam iha yassa ca sūcayanti saṃvaṇṇanā ca vinayaṭṭhakathādikānaṃ Sāratthadīpanīmukhā Madhuratthasāra-sandīpanena sujanaṃ paritosayanti. tass’ ānukampam avalambiya Sāriputtatherassa thāmagatasāraguṇākaraṇa...* (R.F. Gombrich suggests *Sāratthadīpanī*- m.c.; *Madhuratthasāra*- or *madhuratthasāra*- ?). Cf. the colophon of *Abhidhammārasaṅgrahaya Sanna* at the end of this article, where the most complete list of Sāriputta’s works is given. See also Somadasa, *Cat*, vol. 1, p. 235.

²⁴G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, “A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma” in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume* (Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee, 1976), p. 218, Ms. 9; cf. PLB, p. 102, where the title of the Ms. 9 is mentioned as *Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭikā*.

as “*Pārājika[kanḍa]* sub-commentary *Sāratthadīpanī*”, and (2) *ṭīgā terasakan* which is identified as “[*Samghādisesakaṇḍa*] Rules sub-commentary”²⁵ which seems also to be a part of *Sāratthadīpanī*.²⁶

2. *Āṅguttaranikāyaṭṭikā. Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā* (Mp-t).²⁷

In this *ṭikā* six verses of the prologue are nearly identical with six verses

²⁵G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, as preceding note, p. 219, Ms. 10; cf. PLB, p. 102 where the title of the Ms. 10 is mentioned as *Terasakaṇḍa-ṭikā*. Piṭ-sm 240 lists *terasakaṇ ṭikā*, and the preceding *ṭikā* - which corresponds to *ṭīgā pārājikan* in the inscription - is mentioned as *Sāratthadīpanī* (Piṭ-sm 239).

²⁶Cf. the Ms. in the India Office Library with the title *Terasakaṇ ṭikā pāṭh* which ends with: *ettāvatā ca, Vinaye pāṭavattāya ... Vinayaṭṭhakathāya sā, Sāratthadīpanī nāma sabbaso pariniṭṭhitā ... Terasakaṇḍavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā* (see V. Fausböll, “Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library” (Formerly part of the King’s Library at Mandalay), *JPTS* (1894-96), pp. 12-13, Ms. 16).

²⁷Gv 61, 32-33; 71, 11-14; Sās Ne 1961 31, 13; Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1201; Piṭ-sm 202-212 (cf. 239); PLC, pp. 192, 194-195; A.P. Buddhaddatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 260-262; A.P. Buddhaddatta, *Theravādī Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 78; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 173 (§§ 375-376).

Besides the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition (Mp-t Be 1961 I-III) there exist the following three earlier editions of Mp-t: Be 1910 I-II (see CPD, *Epilegomena* to vol. I, p. 41*, 2.4,12); Ce 1907 (see W.A. de Silva, “A List of Pali Books Printed in Ceylon in Sinhalese Characters”, *JPTS* (1910-12), p. 150; not listed in CPD, *Epilegomena* to vol. I, p. 41*, 2.4,12); Ce 1930 (see *EncBuddh*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, p. 629, s.v. *Āṅguttara-nava-ṭikā*; not listed in CPD, *Epilegomena* to vol. I, p. 41*, 2.4,12). Mp-t Ce 1907 contains most of *Ekanipāṭaṭṭikā* (cf. Mp-t Be 1961 I 1,1 - 254,17) and Ce 1930 contains the entire *Ekanipāṭaṭṭikā*. The Mss. of Mp-t are listed in: LPP, vol 1, p. 2 (5 Mss. in Sinhala script), vol. 2, p. 1 (7 Mss. in Sinhala script), vol. 3, p. 164 (1 Ms. in Burmese script from the British Museum, Or 2089); W. A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), vol. I, p. 37 (1 Ms. in Sinhala script); Piṭ-sm 202-212 (1 Ms. in Burmese script). For a detailed description of the editions and some of the above mentioned Mss. of

in the prologue of the *Sāratthadīpanī*,²⁸ the colophons are also very similar²⁹ and the first few pages of both texts likewise show very few differences.³⁰ These similarities could be evidence of common authorship.

It is also interesting to note that although the first few pages of Mp-ṭ (and Sp-ṭ) are quite different from the introductory pages of the *purāṇaṭṭhikās* on DN, MN and SN (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt³¹) written Dhammapāla, all the four *nikāyaṭṭhikās* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-ṭ) have many parallel passages.³²

Mp-ṭ see P. Pecenko, "Introduction" in *Āṅguttaraṭṭhikā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*, vol. 1 (Mp-ṭ Ee (PTS) 1996).

Piṭ-sm 199-201 also lists an incomplete manuscript of the "old" (*hon*³) *ṭikā* on *Āṅguttaranikāya* (Mp-pt, see CPD, Epilegomena to vol. I, p. 41*, 2.4,11), which is, according to Piṭ-sm (1989 edition), at present held in the National Library, Rangoon (note on Piṭ-sm 1 informs us that all the entries which are marked by an asterisk - and Piṭ-sm 199-201 are marked by an asterisk - are held in the National Library, previously Bernard Free Library; see also H. Bechert et al., *Burmese Manuscripts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), Part 1, p. XXXIV). The manuscript contains only *Eka*-, *Duka*- and *Tikaṅguttaraṭṭhikā*. In a letter dated 10 October 1995 Prof. U Ko Lay informs me that "the old *Āṅguttaraṭṭhikās* appear to be out of use in Myanmar monasteries for a long time". Cf. also Oskar von Hinüber, Op. cit., pp. 167 (§ 357), 173 (§ 376).

²⁸These are verses 2-7 in the prologue of Mp-ṭ, and verses 4-9 in the prologue of Sp-ṭ, see Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I 1, 11-2, 2 and Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 1, 7-2, 2.

²⁹The colophons differ only in the first two verses, see Mp-ṭ Be 1961 III 370, 15-371, 8 and Sp-ṭ Be 1960 III 496, 2-23.

³⁰Cf. Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I 3, 7-5, 14 and Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 2, 18-5, 7.

³¹Sv-pt = *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭhikā*; Ps-pt = *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭṭhikā*; Spk-pt = *Sāratthapakāsinīpurāṇaṭṭhikā*.

³²The introductory portions in these four *ṭikās* are similar because they comment on the introductory verses in Sv 1, 1-2, 9; Ps 1, 1-2, 13; Spk 1, 1-2, 21 and Mp 1, 1-3, 3, which are identical in most cases. Mp-ṭ is nevertheless quite different from the other three *ṭikās* because: 1) it has the introductory verses which the other three *ṭikās* do not have (six verses are the same as in Sp-ṭ, see

Continues...

3. *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgaha* (Pālim).³³ According to G.P. Malalasekera this is purely the work of Sāriputta himself and not the work of an assembly of *ṭikā* compilers under the supervision of Sāriputta as is the case with Mp-ṭ and Sp-ṭ.³⁴ The colophon of Pālim is

above note 28); 2) the prose passage following the verses is much more similar to Sp-ṭ (and Sv-nt) than to the other three *ṭikās*; 3) the *Netti* method applied to the first *sutta* in each of the four *nikāyaṭṭhikās* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-ṭ) is much longer in Mp-ṭ. See also "Table of Parallel Passages" in P. Pecenko, *Āṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhikā, Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā: Ganthārambhakathā, Ganthārambhakathāvaṇṇanā, Rūpādivaggavaṇṇanā* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., The Australian National University, 1994), pp. 330-343.

³³Saddhamma-s 63, 15-16; Gv 61, 31; 71, 10-14; Sās Ne 1961 31, 22; Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1201; Piṭ-sm 260 (cf. 239); Geiger, § 31; de Silva Wickremasinghe, as note 19, p. xv; PLC, pp. 190-192; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 297-298; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 78; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 158 (§§ 334-335).

Besides the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (Pālim Be 1960) there are three earlier printed editions of Pālim (two Be 1909, Ce 1913) listed in L.D. Barnett, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1906-28), vol. 2, columns 945-946. The Mss. of Pālim are listed in: V. Fausböll, "Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library" (Formerly part of the King's Library at Mandalay), *JPTS* (1894-96), pp. 117-18, Ms. 30; A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pâlis* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1908), fasc. 2, pp. 52, 80, 152, Mss. 255, 377, 713; W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), pp. 8-9, Mss. 23-25; C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1980), pp. 52-54, Ms. 30; H. Braun et al., *Burmese Manuscripts, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. 23, 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), p. 159, Ms. 340; Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, pp. 319-320, Ms. Or. 6601(57).

³⁴PLC, pp. 194-195.

very similar to the colophons of Sp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ;³⁵ all three works were written at the request of king Parakkamabāhu I in the Jetavana Vihāra in Polonnaruwa. The work has been known under several different titles: *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgaha*, *Vinayaśaṅgahaṭṭhakathā*, *Vinayaśaṅgaha*, *Vinayaśaṅgahapakaraṇa*.³⁶ In *Laṅkavē puskola pot nāmāvaliya* (LPP) several names for Pālim are also given: *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgaha*, *Pālimuttakaya*, *Pālimuttakavinaya*, *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya*, *Mahāvinayaśaṅgaha*, *Vinayaśaṅgaha*.³⁷ *Piṭakatsamuiṇ*³ (Piṭ-sm) 260 gives it under the name *Vinayaśaṅgahaṭṭhakathā*, which seems to be the correct title, since it was “a summary of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, divided into various sections, giving the explanations of *Vinaya* rules.”³⁸ On the title page of Pālim Be 1960 the following title is given: “*Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgaho*” *ti pi voharitā Vinayaśaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā*. In the Pagan inscription two Mss. are mentioned:³⁹ *vineñ saṅgruiw krī*, which is identified as *Vinayamahāśaṅgaha*, and *vineñ saṅgruiw ṇay*, identified as *Vinayaśaṅgaha*. Similarly Piṭ-sm lists first *Vinayaśaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā*, written by Sāriputta,⁴⁰ which obviously corresponds to the “greater” (*krī*) *Vinayamahāśaṅgaha* mentioned in the inscription as *vineñ saṅgruiw krī*.

³⁵Cf. Pālim Be 1960 468, 8-21; Mp-ṭ Be 1961 III 370, 15 - 371, 8; Sp-ṭ Be 1960 III 496, 2-23.

³⁶PLC, p. 191. In Somadasa, Cat (vol. 1, p. 233) it is also mentioned as *Vinaya-vinicchaya* (Vin-vn) which is a mistake because Vin-vn was written by Buddhaddatta; see Vin-vn (Ee 1927), ed. by A.P. Buddhaddatta. On the term *pālimuttaka* see Steven Collins, “On the very idea of the Pali canon”, *JPTS* 15 (1990), p. 92.

³⁷LPP, vol. 1, p. 58; vol. 2, p. 44 (lists many Mss. of Pālim in the temple libraries in Sri Lanka).

³⁸PLC, p. 190.

³⁹G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, as above note 24, p. 219, Mss. 11, 12. Cf. PLB, p. 102 where these two texts are called “*Vinayaśaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā* (the greater)” (Ms. 11) and “*Vinayaśaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā* (the less)” (Ms. 12).

⁴⁰Piṭ-sm 260.

Then it mentions two Mss. of *Vinayaśaṅgahaiy aṭṭhakathā*,⁴¹ which correspond to the “lesser” (*ṇay*) *Vinayaśaṅgaha* mentioned in the inscription as *vineñ saṅgruiw ṇay*. Also among the titles of Pālim given in LPP⁴² are *Mahāvinayaśaṅgaha* and *Vinayaśaṅgaha*, which seem to correspond to the “greater” (*krī*) and the “lesser” (*ṇay*) *Vinayaśaṅgaha* listed in the Pagan inscription and in Piṭ-sm. Are these two different texts or just two names for the same text? In the Burmese sources they are mentioned as different but in LPP they are just two names of Pālim. Malalasekera explains this “variety of the titles” as follows:

It has been suggested in view of the variety of the titles under which the book is known that *Vinayaśaṅgaha*, or, to give its full name, *Pālimuttaka-Vinayavinicchayaśaṅgaha*, was only part of a much larger *Mahā-Vinayaśaṅgahapakaraṇa*, but I see no reason to accept this suggestion. It is only too well known that the work of ancient authors often bore more than one title - sometimes confusedly so - and it is quite likely that Sāriputta’s work was no exception to this custom and that whatever its full and original name was, it was generally called the *Vinayaśaṅgaha*.⁴³

4. *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgahaṭṭhikā* (Pālim-vn-ṭ), also *Vinayaśaṅgahapurāṇaṭṭhikā*, a *ṭhikā* on *Vinayaśaṅgaha* (Pālim), which some sources also ascribe to Sāriputta.⁴⁴ According to Malalasekera

⁴¹Piṭ-sm 261-62. According to Piṭ-sm there are no Mss. of this text available in Burma (see above note 27). Piṭ-sm 262 ascribes it to Cañ¹ Kū³ of Ratanapura (Ava); cf. PLC, p. 191.

⁴²LPP, vol. 1, p. 58, vol. 2, p. 44.

⁴³PLC, p. 191.

⁴⁴Gv 61, 32; 71, 11; Piṭ-sm 291 (cf. 239); de Zilva Wickremasinghe, as note 19, p. xv; PPN, vol. 2, p. 884; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 158 (§§ 336).

“two *ṭikās* are extant in Ceylon, one old (*purāṇa*) and the other one new (*nava*), but the author and the date of neither is known”.⁴⁵ In the colophon of *Abhidharmāthasāṅgrahaya Sanna* (Abhidh-s-sn) it is also mentioned that Sāriputta is the author of both *Vinayaśāṅgha* and the *ṭikā* on it:

... virtuous *guru*, monk Sāriputta, wrote *Vinayaśāṅgha* to help those who practice contemplation, and he also composed its commentary on the words which have hidden meaning ...⁴⁶

5. *Pañcīkālāṅkāra*. This is a Sanskrit work, a *ṭikā* on Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā*, also called *Cāndrapaṇcīkā*.⁴⁷ This

A Sinhalese printed edition of Pālim-vn-ṭ (Ce 1908 edited by K. Paññāsāra) is listed in L.D. Barnett, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1906-28), vol. 2, column 946; also CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 39*, 1.3.5, 1. A Ms. of the *Pālimuttaka Ṭikā* is given in W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), p. 9, Ms. 26; LPP, vol. 1, p. p. 58, s.v. *Pālimuttaka-vinayavinicchayaśāṅghapurāṇaṭīkā*, vol. 2, p. 44, s.v. *Pālimuttakavinaya-vinicchayaśāṅghapurāṇaṭīkā*, *anuttāna-atthadīpanī*, *anuttānapadavaṇṇanā* lists several Mss. of Pālim-vn-ṭ. There is another *ṭikā* on Pālim written by Tipiṭakālāṅkāra (1578-1651) called *Vinayālāṅkāraṭīkā*, see PLB, p. 54; Geiger § 43; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 298-300; Oskar von Hinüber, Op. cit., p. 158 (§ 337).

⁴⁵PLC, p. 191. These two *ṭikās* on Pālim are most probably Pālim-vn-ṭ, ascribed to Sāriputta, and *Vinayālāṅkāraṭīkā*, written by Tipiṭakālāṅkāra.

⁴⁶Text at the end of this article, vv. 2-3:*Sārisutena yatinā gurunā guṇena yogīnam upakārāya kato Vinayaśāṅgho ten' eva racitā c' assa līnatthapadavaṇṇanā*. According to Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 233, the colophon was written by Sāriputta himself; *līnatthapadavaṇṇanā* in the colophon is read *Linatthapadavaṇṇanā* (ibid, p. 235) and taken as “*Linatthapadavaṇṇanā* (on *Papañcasūdanī*)” (ibid, p. 233) which is not correct (see above note 18). Cf. Dāṭh VI 2 quoted below.

work seems to be lost.⁴⁸ Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā* is also mentioned in the Pagan inscription as *Candrapaṇcīkā*: “Word-for-word commentary on Candra's grammar”.⁴⁹ Dhammakitti, one of Sāriputta's immediate disciples,⁵⁰ mentions in the colophon of his *Dāṭhāvamsa* (Dāṭh), a poem composed in the beginning of 13th century,⁵¹ four of the above mentioned works of Sāriputta:

he who wrote the praised *ṭikā* on the *pañjikā* to the excellent grammar composed by Candragomin, and a *ṭikā* on the *Vinaya* commentary *Samantapāsādikā*, which produces the power of

⁴⁷Gv 61, 33 (where the *Pañcakā* is mentioned as one of the five works of Sāriputta); 71, 15-16 (*sakaṭasaddasatthassa Pañcīkā nāma ṭikāgandho attano matiyā Sāriputtācariyena kato*); Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1203 (*Pañcīkāya tu ṭikāpi dhīmatā kaviketunā, therena Sāriputtena katā parahitathinā*); Piṭ-sm 1124 (mentions *Candrikāpañcīkāṭīkā* written by Sāritanuja, the author of *Sārattadīpanīṭīkā*; cf. also Piṭ-sm 239); de Zilva Wickremasinghe, as note 19, pp. xiii, xv; PLC, p. 190 (mentions *Ratnamatipañjikāṭīkā* or *Pañjikālāṅkāra*); A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādī Bauddhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 78, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, p. 251; Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 233; H. Bechert, “Sanskrit-Grammatiken in singhalesischer Überlieferung”, StII 13/14 (1987) [Festschrift W. Rau], pp. 8-10 (mentions Ratnaśrījñāna or Ratnamatipāda, also known as Ratnaśrīpāda, as the author of *Cāndrapaṇcīkā*, also *Ratnamatipañjikā*).

On *Cāndravyākaraṇaṭīkā* see Th. Oberlies, “Verschiedene neu-entdeckte Texte des Cāndravyākaraṇa und ihre Verfasser (Studien zum Cāndravyākaraṇa II)”, StII 16 (1992), pp. 164-168, and “Das zeitliche und ideengeschichtliche Verhältnis der Cāndra-Vṛtti zu anderen V(a)iyākaraṇas (Studien zum Cāndravyākaraṇa III)”, StII 20 (1996) [Festschrift Paul Thieme], pp. 265-275.

⁴⁸A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, p. 251; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 46; H. Bechert, as note 47, p. 10. No Mss. are mentioned in Piṭ-sm 1124 and LPP.

⁴⁹G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, as above note 24, p. 239, Ms. no. 203. Cf. PLB, p. 107, where Ms. 201 is given as *Candrapaṇcīkara [-pañjikā]*, and p. 107, n. 3.

⁵⁰Dāṭh VI 4-6; PLC, p. 195.

⁵¹Geiger, § 34, 1.

wisdom, wrote a *ṭikā* on the excellent commentary on *Anguttaranikāya*, which destroys the restlessness of delusion, and a book called *Vinayaśaṅgaha* for the multitude of those who are self-controlled and are exerting themselves in meditation.⁵²

6. *Abhidharmāṛthasaṅgrahaya Sanne* (Abhidh-s-sn). This is a paraphrase of *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* in Sinhala which is ascribed to Sāriputta,⁵³ who according to Hugh Nevill⁵⁴ “calls his own work the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha Sīhalatthavaṇṇanā*”. There exist several manuscripts⁵⁵ and at least four printed editions⁵⁶ of this work.

⁵²Dāṭh VI 1-2: yo Candragomiracite varasaddasatthe ṭikaṃ pasattham akarittha ca Pañcīkāya buddhipabhāvajānaniṇ ca akā Samantapāsādikāya vinayaṭṭhakathāya ṭikaṃ Aṅguttarāgamavaratṭhakathāya ṭikaṃ sammohavibbhamavighātakarīṇ akāsi atthāya saṃyamigaṇassa padhānikassa ganthaṃ akā Vinayaśaṅgahanāmadheyyaṃ.

⁵³Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1202; de Silva Wickremasinghe, as above note 19, p. xv; PLC, p. 192; CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 50*, 3.8.1, (6): *Abhidharmāṛthasaṅgrahavistarasaṇṇaya*; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Abhidh-s and Abhidh-s-mht, p. xviii; “Introduction” in Upās, p. 46. Cf. also Piṭ-sm 239.

⁵⁴Descriptive catalogue of the Hugh Nevill collection (HNP), compiled by Hugh Nevill, p. 21, quoted in Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 233.

⁵⁵W.A. de Silva, as above note 19, p. 266, Ms. 1743 (*Abhidharmāṛtha Sangraha Sanne*); Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, pp. 233-36, Mss. 6601(1), 6601(2) (*Abhidhammatthasaṅgahapurāṇasaṇṇaya*); LPP, vol. 1, p. 6, s.v. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha Sannaya* (many Mss.), vol. 2, p. 5, s.v. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha Sannaya*, *Abhidharmāṛthasaṅgraha Sannaya* (many Mss.).

⁵⁶First edition: Ce 1897, ed. by T. Paññamoli Tissa with the help of M. Dhammaratana Tissa, Peliyagoda (see L.D. Barnett, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1906-28), vol. 1, column 42); second edition: Ce 1916, ed. by Paññamoli Tissa (Ambalamgoḍa: W.E. de Silva and R.C.P. Weerasuriya, Vijaya Printing Press, 1916); third edition: Ce 1926, ed. by Paññamoli Tissa (Ambalamgoḍa: W.E. de Silva, H.S. de Silva and R.C.P.W. Vaidyaratna, Vijaya Printing Press, 1926); fourth edition: Ce 1950, ed. by

Continues...

In the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn⁵⁷ Sāriputta is also mentioned as the author of the following four works:⁵⁸

7. *Visuddhipathasaṅgaha*.⁵⁹

8. *Kammaṭṭhānasāṅgaha*.⁶⁰ Piṭ-sm lists *Kammaṭṭhānadīpanī* as the work of Sāriputta, and according to Piṭ-sm⁶¹ a manuscript of this work is held in the National Library, Rangoon. It is not clear if this is the same work as *Kammaṭṭhānasāṅgaha* which is listed in the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn.

9. *Maṅgalasuttaṭikā*.⁶² Hoerning⁶³ lists a Burmese Pāli manuscript of *Maṅgalasuttaṭikā* held in the library of the British

Paññamoli Tissa, (Colombo: 1950) (see Shingyō Yoshimoto, “On the *Sārasāṅgaha*”, *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, vol. XXIV (1995), p. 131).

⁵⁷See text at the end of this article and also Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 235.

⁵⁸According to A. P. Buddhadatta and H. Saddhatissa the first three works are not known any more and the fourth work, *Sampasādanī*, they do not mention at all; see A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potsamāgama, 1956), vol. 1, p. 251; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādī Bauddhacāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 78; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 46.

⁵⁹This work seems to be lost; I could not find any further reference.

⁶⁰LPP, vol. 2, p. 14, s.v. *Kammaṭṭhānasāṅgaha*, (also called *Duvidhakammaṭṭhāna*?), lists four Mss. held in the temple libraries in Sri Lanka. Further research is needed here.

⁶¹Piṭ-sm 364 (see also above note 27).

⁶²Cf. text at the end of this article, v. 9: *Maṅgalassa ca suttassa vaṇṇanāya suvaṇṇanā, viññūnaṃ likhitā ṭikā bhikkhūnaṃ rativaddhanī*. Hugh Nevill, quoted in Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 233, wrongly identifies this work as *Maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanā* (*Maṅgalatthadīpanī*); H. Saddhatissa (“Introduction” in Upās, p. 46) calls it *Maṅgalasuttasaṅgaha* which seems to be a mistake (cf. v. 9 quoted above).

Museum. If the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn is correct this could be a work of Sāriputta.

10. *Sampasādani*. Perhaps this work is related to *Samapasādaniya Suttanta* of DN.⁶⁴ Among the works of unknown authors Gv⁶⁵ lists also *Pasādani* and *Pasādajanani*. LPP⁶⁶ lists the following Sinhalese works which could be related to *Sampasādani*: *Sampasādaniyasuttapada-ānuma*, *Sampasādaniyasuttavyākya*, *Sampasādaniyasuttasannaya*. From the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn it is not clear in which language the *Sampasādani* was written.

The above four works are mentioned in the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn as follows:

Visuddhipathasaṅgaha [was written] for the forest-dwelling *bhikkhus*, a collection of the objects of meditation [*Kammaṭṭhānasaṅgaha*] for the *bhikkhus*, who contemplate the objects of meditation ... the precious *Sampasādani* was composed to produce joy for the hearers and for the benefit of the wise ... and a delight-increasing *ṭikā*, which is a thorough

⁶⁴Hoerning, "List of Manuscripts in the British Museum", *JPTS* (1883), p. 140, Ms. 17,554 (6 foll. *ka-kū*). LPP, vol. 3, p. 163, s.v. *Maṅgalasuttaṭṭikā*, wrongly identifies the entire Ms. 17,554 (180 foll.) as *Maṅgalasuttaṭṭikā*; the Ms. contains two texts: *Maṅgalasuttaṭṭikā* (first 6 foll. only) and the first half of *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*. See the unpublished *List of Pali Manuscripts*, [excluding the Nevill Collection (Or. 6599 - 6616)], British Museum, cat. no. B.14. (F.1/f.), London, n.d., p. 8.

⁶⁵DN III 99, 1 - 116, 10.

⁶⁶Gv 62, 34 (*Pasādani*), 72, 19 (*Pasādajanani*). Cf. text at the end of this article, v. 6: *pasādajanantthāya ... racitā Sampasādani*.

⁶⁷LPP, vol. 1, p. 101; vol. 2, p. 76.

exposition of the commentary on *Maṅgalasutta*, was written for wise *bhikkhus*.⁶⁷

11. *Padāvatāra*. This is the only work which is in many secondary sources ascribed to Sāriputta,⁶⁸ but it is not mentioned in the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn. This work seems to be lost.⁶⁹ In the Pagan inscription a work called (*padāvasāra*) *mahācat* is mentioned and it is identified by G.H. Luce and Tin Htway as: "*Padāvaha mahacakka?* Query *Padāvatāra*, a Sanskrit work on grammar by Sāriputta (PLC 190), or *Sadāvatāra* (cf. [Ms. no.] 165 above)?"⁷⁰ Bode also mentions the same work but reads it differently: "*Padāvahāmahācakka* [*Padāvatāra?*]"⁷¹ Sās-dip⁷² ascribes the authorship of *Padāvatāra* to Colīyācariya Sāriputtatthera, who according to H. Dhammaratana "lived

⁶⁷See text at the end of this article and cf. Somadasa, *Cat*, vol. 1, p. 235: *Maṅgalassa [ca] suttassa vaṇṇanāya suvaṇṇanā, viṃṇūnaṃ likhitā ṭikā bhikkhūnaṃ rati vadḍhati*.

⁶⁸de Zilva Wickremasinghe, as above note 19, p. xv (refers to the preface to printed edition of the *Moggallāna-pañjikā-pradīpa*); PLC, p. 190 (refers to preface, p. xvi, printed ed. of *Moggallāna-pañjikā-pradīpa*); CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 56*, (5.3,3 (refers to 5.3,11(2) (=Maudgalyāyana-pañcikā-pradīpaya, Ce 1896), p. XV, 27); C.E. Godakumbura, "Introduction" in *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1980), p. xxvii and n. 2. See also H. Bechert, "Sanskrit-Grammatiken in singhalesischer Überlieferung", *StII* 13/14 (1987) [Festschrift W. Rau], p. 10, note 26.

⁶⁹PLC, p. 190; H. Bechert, as note 68, p. 10;

⁷⁰G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, as above note 24, p. 236, Ms. no. 169.

⁷¹PLB, p. 106, Ms. 169.

⁷²Sās-dip Ce 1880, v. 1244: *Colīyācariyo Sāriputtatthero mahāmatī, Padāvatāraṃ dhammāvataranattam akā subham*. So also H. Bechert, as note 68, p. 10 and note 26 (refers to *Pañcikāpradīpaya*, p. 236); A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 82 (refers to *Pañcikāpradīpaya*).

at Bodhimangai in Chola country".⁷³ This is most probably true, since *Padāvatāra* is the only work which is not mentioned in the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn, where the most detailed list of Sāriputta's works is given.⁷⁴

According to Hugh Nevill⁷⁵ and Somadasa⁷⁶ the colophon of Abhidh-s-sn was written by Sāriputta himself. Since the list of works given in the colophon is very detailed this suggestion could be correct. In the colophon of Dāṭṭh, written in the beginning of the 13th century by Dhammakitti, who was one of Sāriputta's immediate disciples, only four works in the above list are given: Sp-t, Mp-t, Pālim and *Pañcīkālāṅkāra*.⁷⁷ The colophon of Abhidh-s-mhṭ written by Sumaṅgala, who was also one of Sāriputta's disciples, mentions only *Sāratthadīpanī* (Sp-t) as the first work of Sāriputta's "exposition on *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* and so on".⁷⁸ It seems that Sp-t, which is mentioned in all three colophons, was considered Sāriputta's "first and foremost work".⁷⁹ All three colophons were most probably written not later than the 13th century.

Saddhammasaṅgaha (Saddhamma-s), which was written about AD 1400 in Siam,⁸⁰ ascribes to Sāriputta only one work, i.e. Pālim.⁸¹ All

the *ṭikās*, including Sp-t and Mp-t, which are clearly mentioned in the colophons of earlier works (Abhidh-s-sn, Abhidh-s-mhṭ, Dāṭṭh) as the works of Sāriputta, are in *Saddhamma-s* ascribed to the "elders" (*therā bhikkhū*) or the "great elders" (*mahātherā*),⁸² who are also mentioned as "the teachers of the *ṭikās*" (*ṭikācariyā*).⁸³ Although "it is significant that Sāriputta's name is not mentioned in this connection, and that no special works are assigned to him by the author of *Saddhammasaṅgaha*", there is, according to Malalasekera, "no doubt that the account of the *ṭikā* compilation, as given here [i.e. in *Saddhamma-s*], contains more than a germ of truth".⁸⁴ The main aim of the council held during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I and presided over by Diṃbulāgala Mahākassapa was to reconcile different communities of *saṅgha* which "had been torn by various schisms".⁸⁵ Although "they accepted the authority of the common canon and of Buddhaghosa's commentaries" they "interpreted various points of teaching in their own way" and "these interpretations were written and handed down in [different] *ṭikās*".⁸⁶ The council presided over by Mahākassapa realised the need "[to bring] these various

⁷³H. Dhammaratana Thera, *Buddhism in South India*, The Wheel Publication No. 124/125 (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1968), p. 41. See also PPN, vol. 2, p. 1118.

⁷⁴See text at the end of this article and also Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, p. 235.

⁷⁵Somadasa, Cat, vol. 1, pp. 233.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 235.

⁷⁷See the discussion on *Pañcīkālāṅkāra* above.

⁷⁸Abhidh-s-mhṭ 212, 13-14: *saṃvaṇṇanā ca vinayaṭṭhakathādīkānam Sāratthadīpanīmukhā*.

⁷⁹H. Saddhatissa, "Introduction" in Upās, p. 47. Cf. PLC, p. 192.

⁸⁰H. Penth, "Reflections on the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*", JSS 65, I (1977), pp. 259-280.

⁸¹Saddhamma-s 63, 15-16: *Sāgaramatināmena therena racitaṃ idaṃ, Vinayasaṅgahaṃ nāma vinayaṭṭhappakāsanam*.

⁸²Saddhamma-s 59, 14 - 61, 30.

⁸³Saddhamma-s 62, 13.

⁸⁴PLC, p. 193. Cf. H. Saddhatissa, "Introduction" in Upās, p. 47.

⁸⁵PLC, p. 193.

⁸⁶PLC, pp. 193-194. Cf. Saddhamma-s 58, 31 - 59, 2: *kattha ci anekesu gaṇṭhipadesu Sihlabhāsāya niruttiyā likhitaṃ ca kattha ci mūlabhāsāya Māgadhikāya bhāsantarena sammissaṃ ākulaṃ ca katvā likhitaṃ ca*; also 61, 10-18. Similarly also Sp-t Be 1960 I 2, 5-16. According to Lily de Silva ("General Introduction" in Sv-pt, p. xxxvi) *gaṇṭhipadas* "formed a sort of basis for the compilation of the *ṭikās* during the Poḷonnaruva period, and the *ṭikā* authors openly acclaim their indebtedness to these *gaṇṭhipadas* [see Sp-t Be 1960 I 2, 7-8]".

ṭikās together and [make] a synthetic summary of them all".⁸⁷ Therefore according to Malalasekera "these *ṭikās* may be regarded as the work of a school, rather than of single individuals",⁸⁸ as also the parallel passages found in many other *ṭikās* seem to indicate.

To conclude, I reproduce below the colophon of *Abhidh-s-sn*,⁸⁹ where all the works of Sāriputta except *Padāvatāra* are mentioned:

ramme Pulatthinagare nagarādhirāje
raññā Parakkamabhujena mahābhujena
kārāpīte vasati Jetavane vihāre
yo rammahammiyavarūpavanābhiraṃe [1]
sabbattha patthāyāsena visāradena
suddhāsāyena parisuddhakulodayena
takkāgamādikusālena yatissarena
Sārisutena yatinā gurunā guṇena [2]
yogīnam upakārāya kato Vinayaśaṅgaho
ten'eva racitā c' assa līnatthapadavaṇṇanā [3]
bhikkhūnaṃ 'raññāvāsīnaṃ Visuddhipathasāṅgaho
kammaṭṭhānikabhikkhūnaṃ kammaṭṭhānassa saṅgaho [4]
Candagomābhīdhānena racitā sādhusammata
pañcīkā ramaṇīyena 'laṅkārena ca bhūsitā [5]
pasādajanānatthāya sotūnaṃ ca mahārahā

⁸⁷PLC, p. 194. According to H. Saddhatissa ("Introduction" in *Upās*, p. 47, n. 154) "the *Līnatthappakāsinī* on Buddhaghosa's commentaries to the four *Nikāyas* written earlier by Dhammapāla might surely have been consulted in this recompilation of *ṭikās*".

⁸⁸PLC, p. 194.

⁸⁹*Abhidharmāśaṅgrahaya Sanna*, ed. by Paññāmolī Tissa, 3rd ed. (Ambalamgoḍa: W.E. de Silva, H.S. de Silva and R.C.P.W. Vaidyaratna, Vijaya Printing Press, 1926, B.E. 2469), p. 257; cf. Somadasa, *Cat*, vol. 1, p. 235. For other editions of *Abhidh-s-sn*, see n. 56 above.

viññūnaṃ ca hitatthāya racitā Sampasādanī [6]
Vinayaṭṭhakathāyāpi suvisuddhapadakkamā
ṭikā viracitā rammā vinayaññupasaṃsitā [7]
Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāya ca anākulā
bhikkhūnaṃ paṭubhāvāya ṭikā pi ca susaṅkhatā [8]
Maṅgalassa ca suttassa vaṇṇanāya suvaṇṇanā
*viññūnaṃ likhitā ṭikā bhikkhūnaṃ rativaddhānī*⁹⁰ [9]
kaṅkhāvinayanatthāya Abhidhammatthasāṅgahe
bhikkhūnaṃ likhitāṃ gaṇṭhaṃ Sīhāḷāya niruttīyā [10]
*Parakkamanarindassa narindakulaketuno*⁹¹
nāmena tilakaṃ vuttaṃ nakkhattapathanissitaṃ [11]
*yaṃ cande*⁹² *Candabhūtaṃ nisitataramatiṃ Pāṇiniṃ pāṇiniye*
sabbasmiṃ takkasatthe paṭutaramatayo kattubhūtaṃ va tan
taṃ
maññante Kālidāsaṃ kavijanahadayānandahetuṃ kavitte
sāyaṃ lokatthasiddhiṃ vitaratu racanā tassa Sārisutassa.
*[12]*⁹³

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⁹⁰Somadasa, *Cat*, vol. 1, p. 235 reads *rati vaddhati*.

⁹¹Ibid., reads *-ketunā*.

⁹²Ibid., reads *cānde*.

⁹³According to A.P. Buddhaddatta this verse was written by one of Sāriputta's disciples, see *Theravādi Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), p. 79.